

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15

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FM AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4537

INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAO PAULO 1995

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, BR

SUBJECT: NEW SAO PAULO MAYOR AND INTENSE CENSORSHIP OF O ESTADO
DE SAO PAULO

1. LUNCHEDED TODAY WITH CHIEF EDITOR ESTADO DE SAO PAULO,
OLIVEIROS FERREIRA, TO OBTAIN BACKGROUND ON REMOVAL OF SAO
PAULO MAYOR AND INTENSIVE CENSORSHIP OF O ESTADO AUGUST 30,
WHICH RESULTED IN A FIRST SECTION REplete WITH VITRIOLIC POEMS
AND EVEN THE OPENING PARAGRAPHS OF CICERO'S FIRST ORATION
AGAINST CATALINE IN PORTUGUESE. QUOTE HOW LONG PRAY, CATALINE,
WILL YOU ABUSE OUR PATIENCE?.....TO WHAT LENGTHS WILL
THAT UNCHECKED MADNESS OF YOURS LEAD US.....UNQUOTE.

2. FERREIRA SAID THAT MUCH OF CENSORED MATERIAL WAS PRO-
VINCIAL POLITICS, BUT THE CHIEF ITEM HAD BEEN A STROY HE HAD
WRITTEN ON THE MAYORALITY SUCCESSION WHICH CONTAINED THE
FOLLOWING MESSAGE. DELFIM NETO HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF FRICTION
BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE MAYOR. DELFIM WAS SCHEMING TO BE
THE NEXT GOVERNOR AND PRESENT GEISEL WITH NO OTHER VIABLE
OPTION. HE HAD HIS EYES ON THE PRESIDENCY IN 1979 USING SAO
PAULO AS HIS POWER BASE. FIGUEIREDO FERRAZ WAS A POTENTIAL
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OBSTACLE OR ALTERNATE CANDIDATE FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP AND HAD

TO BE DESTROYED. DELFIM WAS ALREADY MOBILIZING SUPPORT IN THE SAO PAULO FEDERATION OF INDUSTRIES, THE COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATION, THE BANKERS ASSOCIATION, THE COMMERCIAL FEDERATION AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN GENERAL. FERREIRA ADMITTED THAT THERE MIGHT BE TWO TENDENCIES IN FIESP, WITH ONE BACKING FORMER MAYOR PAULO MALUF, BUT DELFIM'S SELECTION WOULD ALSO PERMIT MALUF'S POLITICAL SURVIVAL. ASKED WHETHER THE ARMY WAS SOLIDLY BEHIND DELFIM FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP, FERREIRA SAID THAT THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTION ON HIS SIDE. (FERREIRA THOUGHT GENERAL HUMBERTO WOULD LEAVE SAO PAULO IN NOVEMBER AND BE REPLACED BY GENERAL REYNALDO). WITH COLASUONNO IN THE MAYOR'S OFFICE, DELFIM HAD A PROTEGE WHO COULD PROMOTE QUOTE MASS UNQUOTE OR QUOTE POPULAR UNQUOTE OUTPOURINGS OF SUPPORT FOR DELFIM'S CANDIDACY. DELFIM WAS COUNTING ON GEISEL FOLLOWING A CASTELLO BRANCO MODEL IN THE SELECTION OF GOVERNORS: ALLOWING THE LOCAL ARENA PARTY TO SEND A LIST OF THREE NAMES TO THE STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. IN SUCH A PROCEDURE, DELFIM, WITH CAREFUL PREPARATION IN ADVANCE, WOULD CLEARLY EMERGE AS GOVERNOR. THE ONLY POSSIBLE FLY IN THE OINTMENT WAS GEISEL'S CHARACTER. WOULD THIS STRAIGHT-LACED PROTESTANT WHO TOOK COLD SHOWERS IN THE EARLY MORNING PUT UP WITH THIS VIRTUAL BLACKMAIL BY DELFIM?

3. FERREIRA WENT ON TO EXPOUND THIS FAVORITE THESIS THAT GEISEL AND GOLBERI WERE GREAT NATIONALISTS. THE TRUE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CASTELLO BRANCO REGIME HAD BEEN TO TOLERATE FOREIGN PRIVATE CAPITAL WHILE THE BRAZILIAN STATE STRENGTHENED ITS ECONOMY, AND ITS STATE INSTITUTIONS AND CORPORATIONS. THE MERE FACT THAT GENERAL GOLBERI IS PRESIDENT OF DOW IN BRAZIL DOES NOT MAKE HIM A BELIEVER IN FREE ENTERPRISE. HE IS A GEO-POLITICAN AND ULTRANATIONALIST WHO REMAINS AN AVOWED FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE HE DOES NOT CONVEIVE OF BRAZIL'S TERRITORIAL SPHERE OF INFLUENCE AS OVERLAPPING THAT OF THE UNITED STATES. FERREIRA ALSO QUOTED FORMER CASTELLO BRANCO MINISTER OF INDUSTRY PAULO EGYDIO MARINS AS TELLING HIM ONE EARLY MORNING AT PAULO EGYDIO'S MOUNTAIN AERIE IN CAMPOS DO JORDAO THAT QUOTE WE WILL MAKE THE INDUSTRIALISTS DANCE TO OUR TUNE UNQUOTE. PAULO EGYDIO, ALTHOUGH A WEALTHY MAN AND AN INDUSTRIALIST IN A MODEST WAY, HAD A GUILTY CONSCIENCE ABOUT HIS WEALTH AND WAS A WILLING TOOL OF THE NATIONALISTS IN THE MILITARY. IN THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTEXT, DELFIM REPRESENTS THE PLEDGE OR OUTWARD AND VISIBLE SIGN THAT FOREIGN INVESTMENT WILL REMAIN UNHARMED IN BRAZIL. DELFIM IS ALSO TRADING ON THIS TO OBTAIN HIS AMBITION OF THE GOVERNORSHIP. FERREIRA SAID HE EVEN WOULD NOT PUT IT PAST DELFIM AND HIS ASSOCIATES TO HAVE FED THE LINE TO THE WALL STREET JOURNAL REFLECTED IN ITS RECENT EDITORIAL. THE WHOLE OBJECT WAS A MACHIAVELLIAN PLOT TO MAKE DELFIM THE INDISPENSABLE MAN, NOT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BUT IN SAO PAULO,

THE CENTER OF BRAZILIAN COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND NEW FOREIGN
INVESTMENT.
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